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The War Between States—Necessity for Action.

The corruptions of political parties have produced their usual effect. We have had preliminary symptoms of the result for some time. The scenes of turbulence at Washington, ending with an assault upon a United States Senator in the Senate, were unmistakable. Civil war has been declared in the West, and blood has begun to flow. Such is, according to the teaching of history, the natural result of corruption and profligacy among political leaders. These scandals it was which, first breaking out in the pre-consular governments, and rendering the very name of authority a by-word for all that was infamous, were soon transferred to the Forum and to the Sacred Way; and in the brief space of three generations destroyed the old Roman republic to make way for military despotism. And it was these same phenomena—the same open profligacy among politicians—the same turbulence and reckless disregard of law, producing the same results—which led the conservative masses of the French people to accept obediently a despotic Emperor as the least of the evils among which they had to choose.

The telegraph informs us that a battle was fought at Lawrence, on Wednesday last, that the city was destroyed, and much life lost on both sides. It is stated that the hotel and printing office at Kansas City were also destroyed, and that "a few" lives were lost there. Other collisions between the two factions into which the people of Kansas are divided are mentioned; and it even a portion of what we hear be true, it can be assumed without doubt that war exists in the Territory of Kansas. It may be assumed furthermore that in the present feverish state of the public mind, the attitude assumed by both sections of the country will rather tend to aggravate than to arrest the mischief. Both factions in Kansas will be more likely to receive reinforcements of exasperated belligerents than to find the country meet them with a uniform expression of disapproval.

Such are the consequences of the present organization of political parties, and the manner in which that organization is carried out. Such is the net result of the labors of the two or three hundred thousand politicians who manage the principal political parties, and who, being mostly briefless barristers, equally remarkable for want of scruple and principle and a superficial kind of talent, have assumed, since the deaths of Clay, Calhoun and Webster put an end to the second generation of great American statesmen, to destroy the grand old organizations called whig and democratic, and replace them by parties whose distinguishing characteristic was the driving or worshipping of niggers. By wretched sectional divisions, framed on no great principle of public good, on no measure of broad general utility, on no grand political purpose; but relying wholly on local prejudices, and border feuds for support, and looking to the twofold aims of first securing the government spoils for this or that clique, and, secondly, of hastening a general political convulsion, and precipitating the total ruin of the republic.

Is it not time now for the conservative citizens of the republic to begin to think of themselves, of their children, and posterity? Is it not time now to think of those hopes which men have cherished so fondly for this young nation; hopes which have not a ghost of a chance of being realized if civil war continues?

As to the blame, why, every one can see that it lies equally with both parties—nigger drivers on the one hand, nigger worshippers on the other. It lies with the leaders of both, who have been preparing for years for the disasters now upon us, and who expect to make their fortune by them—with the hordes of unscrupulous and unprincipled politicians now travelling to Cincinnati, to practice a juggle there—with the crowd of hungry office-seekers who will shortly flock to Philadelphia, there to breathe incendiary and strife, and to do what in them lies to render themselves as dangerous and destructive to the United States as the Marats and the Dantons of the Collet d'Herbois of the old French republic, the senators of the later Roman republic, or the oligarchy of Athens.

For the people at large the question is simply whether these politicians—these two hundred thousand hungry lawyers—are to be allowed to ruin the country or not. This is what the business people, the merchants of this metropolitan city, the solid farmers, and the manufacturers throughout the country, have got to decide before next winter. Civil war has already broken out. If it be not nipped in the bud, before another four years have passed over it will have reached the heart of the republic, and our trade will be ruined, and our national progress thrown back a quarter of a century, or perhaps arrested forever, by the unscrupulous jugglers and the violent fanaticism of the late political movements both North and South.

THE GAG LAW IN CONGRESS.—The history of the Thirty-fourth Congress of the United States—so far as already developed—is one which reflects no credit upon our country. In it partisanship in its lowest form has usurped the place of honorable and proper legislation; and imbecility, extravagance and corruption have superseded those elements of public virtue and morality without which republics can not long exist. If the examples that have been set in Washington were to find an extensive imitation throughout the country, then indeed would the virtues and sacrifices of those who founded our government have been manifested and made in vain. But while the popular mind remains uncorrupted, and while there is an independent press to expose and denounce the acts of our unworthy representatives, the history of such a Congress as the present can have no worse effect than to reflect temporary discredit on our government, and to subtract some millions of dollars, more or less, from the national treasury. Fortunately indeed will it be, if, even at such expense, the people of the United States will at length learn their true interests, and resolve never again to entrust the high and sacred duties of legislation to such hands as those into which they have now unfortunately fallen.

Over six months of the present session have elapsed, and what has Congress done? In the Senate the time has been spent in long, wordy and rapid speeches on subjects that were not at the time properly or regularly before the body.

Now two day speeches on Central American subjects, which only served to envelop them in more impenetrable fog than they were left in even by that masterpiece of stupidity, the Clayton-Bowyer treaty; then interminable and

indefinite debates in regard to the action of the Naval Retiring Board; then, again, inflammatory harangues on Kansas and the nigger question, interspersed with offensive personalities, and ending with a scene disgraceful to any deliberative body. But as for any business, furtherance of the interests of the country, there was none done. It was apparently one of the last things to which that grave and reverend body thought of devoting itself.

How was it in the House of Representatives, the members of which hold their positions directly from the people? Why, two months of the session were consumed in the struggle as to whether a democrat, a nigger worshipper, or a Know Nothing should occupy the Speaker's seat. And as if it were to make up for the public time so squandered, the dominant party has ever since unvaryingly shut off all debate on the propositions and bills on which the House has been called to vote. This has been done by the means of a parliamentary procedure technically known as the previous question. No matter how important the proposition is, whether it be in reference to an appropriation bill covering millions of dollars, or to a grant of millions of acres of public lands to railroad speculators, or to a pension of eight dollars a month to the widow of a Revolutionary soldier, the mode of practice is the same. The member introducing it moves the previous question, and, if he gets a majority of the members to support his motion, the previous question is declared seconded, and all debates and amendments are precluded. It is an easy matter in such a body to manage a thing like that. There are few of the members who have not some little scheme of their own—for building Custom Houses, establishing marine hospitals, making grants to corporations, or something of the kind—to effect; and as this is the simplest and easiest mode of attaining their ends, they very naturally lend their support to the establishment of the principle. And so the gag law is enforced; but their scheme succeeds. Freedom of speech is denied; but the national treasury is depleted. The very life and essence of a deliberative body is choked out; but the lobby is triumphant. The measure to which it is applied may be such as, though its principle might command the support of the majority, would need amendment in its details; but even the poor privilege of suggesting amendments is denied, and the House is called upon to vote for or against it, with all its imperfections.

What a pretty system of legislation that is! Under it we have already had several appropriation bills passed, and the public domain depopulated to the extent of some eight millions of acres.

By it an unbounded prospect of public plunder has been opened up, and the few honest men who set their faces against it—almost all old members—have no means of exposing its nefariousness to the country. In a word, the arbitrary rules of the previous question, as it operates in the House of Representatives, is as openly at variance with the principle of free discussion which underlies the idea of a parliamentary body as is the fat of any despotism known among men. It remained for the Thirty-fourth Congress to develop and utilize this hitherto unknown or unused *tacique* and under its cover the treasury has been robbed, and the lobby enriched.

If the voice of the few honest representatives who happen to find their way into Congress is to be thus stifled, then the national Legislature is a sham and a cheat, and republicanism a stupendous failure. But if the people of the United States would perpetuate the government which the fathers of the Revolution reared and fostered, they will exercise much more care in the selection of the persons into whose hands they confide the sacred and responsible duties of legislation, and look to it that their agents are men who will not subordinate the public interests to their own personal aggrandizement, nor bring reproach upon the name of American representatives. In fine, they must send men to Congress who feel that they have a higher aim and mission than the attainment of spoils, the advancement of party, the stifling of discussion, or the obtaining of notoriety by foul mouthed abuse, or the resort to brute force. Let us have reform in Congress, and down with the gag law!

LAND JOBS.—More land jobs are before Congress, and twelve millions more acres, worth some fifty millions of dollars, are asked for by the unscrupulous politicians and lobby agents, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads. The promoters of these schemes pretend to be Western men, but they are usually from Wall street or from Boston—mere speculators—whose sole object is to sell scrip, which they get for nothing, for a handsome sum, on the strength of the government donations of lands. Half the roads they project are never built. Others only ruin established roads and are themselves ruined in return. But the grand objection to the donation of alternate sections to railroads—which fairly meets the plausible fallacy that the State ought to grant them, for it loses nothing, as the remaining sections are doubled in value by the operation—is that the land system of the United States is framed upon the principle of giving every man who wants land as much as he can use at one dollar and a quarter an acre. This generous system has contributed very largely to the growth of the country; and it would be a ruinous thing for it to be neutralized by the forced increase in the value of public lands caused by the railway encouragement land jobs.

PRESIDENTIAL AVAILABILITY.—The *Evening Post* and other journals of the same way of thinking, were sarcastic and facetious upon the Herald and those organs of opinion which considered the candidacy of George Law as a matter to be seriously chronicled. They thought it was ridiculous and laughable that a successful adventurer and speculator, who had spent his life in building railroads and steamers, as George Law had, should be in contemplation for the office of President. And yet these same journals are now busily engaged in advocating the claims of Colonel Fremont, who, though he may have received a rather better education than George Law, is still nothing more than a successful adventurer and speculator. There is one point of view in which Col. Fremont may be said to be three times as available as a candidate as Law. The decision in the Mariposa case, he is worth twenty-four million; Law is said to be worth only eight. Is this the test which was applied by the Post?

The Demoralization of Parties—The Juggle at Cincinnati.

A representative government like ours is necessarily the most perfect or imperfect, just as it maintains the purity of the elective system, which constitutes its vital power for good or evil. It is manifest that honesty in this respect is wholly unavailable unless its labors are permitted to control the bases of political action. When the foundations are laid in fraud and deception, such as is assured by the present tactics of parties, it is morally impossible that results shall follow of a different character.

It has been noticed by the country, without exciting any special comment, that at least a hundred delegates appointed to the Cincinnati Convention avow friendship for Mr. Pierce, and express a wish to renominate him, while not one-tenth of that number are honest in desiring such a result. Mr. Pierce is nominally supported by the democratic members of the Senate, but it is safe to declare that he has not one sincere friend in that body. He is sustained by his party in the House of Representatives; but not ten members either desire or expect his renomination. He is supported, too, by thousands of office holders, all over the Union; but they go to Cincinnati to enact a treachery towards him such as he has enacted towards those who elevated him to power. His example for evil is thus introduced into the party, and the spectacle is exhibited of a grand system of false pretences. The process is going on by which a magnificent cheat is to be effected at Cincinnati. Mr. Pierce is a candidate with plenty of delegates, but no friends. States have instructed their representatives to support him—they have promised to do so; but they will abandon him and support another.

This is the shocking condition of demoralization in which we find ourselves. It has become the law of conventions to deceive. Public confidence is not only impaired in their integrity and virtue, but the people are becoming convinced that there is a fatal atmosphere of fraud around them—an inevitable tendency to deception in all they do. This state of affairs surely requires a remedy. In a government based upon the popular will it is certainly important that its action should be guided by patriotism and sound sense. If the fountain is corrupt it is in vain that we seek to purify the countless rivulets which flow from it.

Primary action in an elective system will always indicate the character of the government springing from it. If fraud and misrepresentation, false promises and pretences, enter into the conventions organized avowedly for the purpose of concentrating public opinion, what are we to expect at the elections? If they do not thus take away the liberty of selecting proper persons to represent us, at least they effect such a perfect combination of the office holders and seekers, political stock jobbers and tools, as practically to deny to the people the privileges of the elective franchise.

For instance, more than a hundred men, delegated to Cincinnati, professing friendship for Gen. Pierce, and rampant sticklers for popular sovereignty, will take their seats in the Convention on the 2d of June, deliberately determined to set aside their man and nominate some one else. Convinced they may be of his weakness, distrusting his honor as a man, having no faith in his integrity as an officer, knowing him and appreciating him; notwithstanding their instructions, they will give him no actual support.

And why is this? The truth may be told in a few words. They have sustained him in Congress and through the country. They have deceived their constituents in regard to his character, and now, when the hour comes to test their sincerity, they are required to deceive them again, in order to save their party from utter ruin. Is this our boasted free system? Is this the way that we are to prove a republic a blessed gift to man—the noblest of all human institutions? Are we required once in four years to re-negotiate, on a national scale, such a grand system of deception and fraud? Is this popular sovereignty—free inquiry and judgment? Was it so with the fathers of the republic?

But again: Let us suppose Mr. Pierce is overhauled. What next? Are we then to return in triumph to the Constitution as our guide, and to the fair, unbiased judgment of the delegates for a selection? Who believes it?

The Cincinnati Convention will be composed of men four-fifths of whom have some personal objects to accomplish. It will be a meeting of office holders and expectants, ready and determined to make the best bargain they can for their own individual benefit. Half of them and more will be cheated. Nine tenths of those who nominated Mr. Pierce were so cheated. This fact, only four years' old, will sharpen the appetites and passions of the present members, especially the outs, and it will be fortunate if they are more successful this time. The first work will be to kill off the prominent men, and this will be easy enough, because the friends of each will proscribe the others, for this reason: that they will fear proscriptio by the nominee for not having joined his ranks at an earlier day. Thus delegates and candidates will become mixed up in a spoils scramble. What good can come of such proceedings? And yet such are the blessed works of the convention system! Parties are well enough. Those who support the Constitution and the Union constitute a party. The honest and patriotic voters of the country—the millions who care nothing for office, and who desire only that the government shall be justly administered—constitute a party. The caucus system is the curse of such men, of such parties. The democracy for twenty years have been striving to do their duty to the country, but they have been foiled at each recurring Presidential election. They have committed great errors—have borne heavy loads; but the greatest of these have been engendered by local and national conventions. The intention and spirit of the men are well enough—they would do little wrong, have little difficulty in gaining and holding power, if they were not periodically burdened with the responsibility of their caucus managers.

The Cincinnati Convention, as constituted, threatens to be even more disgraceful and demoralizing than any of its predecessors. It is constituted, avowedly, for the purposes of deception. The members of that body will take their seats intending to cheat and defraud their nominal constituency in nine cases out of ten. They are supported in this determination by their party friends in both branches of Congress. The condition of the country, agitated by violent strife, and requiring the calm action of all patriots, will not be thought of for a moment. Extreme North and South, will meet

to concur on the basis of securing ends of personal interest. The character of the government and the disturbed condition of the people will not be thought of. Principles will amount to nothing—the question will be, Who can we nominate and use?

REVIVAL IN THE EXPORTS OF BREADSTUFFS TO EUROPE.—About the time it became evident that peace would be re-established in Europe, our exports of breadstuffs began to diminish. After a fall and winter trade of great activity the exports were checked much sooner than usual for the then season of the year, and during the months of March and April were in a great degree suspended, although freights ruled very low.

The belief seemed to prevail on the other side that what they had received from us, with their domestic supplies, would be sufficient to carry them through to their next harvest. They also expected an increase of imports from the Black Sea and from the Baltic ports, which has not been realized because Germany has been a large importer of grain from us, while the growth of grain was interfered with in the Principalities by the war, and in Southern Russia it was either consumed by the Emperor's troops or more or less destroyed by the Allies. Under these circumstances they find that their supplies are inadequate to carry them through to the coming harvest, and recently almost every steamer, in the face of fine weather in England, brings out accounts of an advance in flour and grain, and also brings orders for this market. The consequence has been an advance here, with the revival of the export demand at an unusually late period of the season. This is all the better for us, as we have a large surplus on hand to meet it.

It was feared, a month since, that when our cotton exports were over for the season we should have a hard time of it; that we would have no other large exports of produce going forward to pay for the heavy importations made within the past four or five months, and that we should be drained of specie to meet the difference. This revival in the export of breadstuffs is, therefore, an opportune occurrence. To form some idea of this revival we may state that within the past two weeks we have shipped from this port alone to Great Britain about 300,000 bushels of grain, half or more of which was wheat, at an average value of not less than one dollar a bushel for both, combined making \$300,000, and about 50,000 to 60,000 barrels of flour, at an average cost of about six dollars a barrel, making from \$300,000 to \$360,000, or a total in value for the two weeks, of from \$600,000 to \$660,000. These shipments must tell to some extent against the value of foreign exchange, and tend to check the export of specie. Should this revival of exports continue for two months it must prove of great advantage to the country. Now is the time for forwarders and holders to sell off. Between this and the middle of July, or 1st of August, will be their last chance. Owing to the immense supplies of Indian corn the advance in it has not, and probably cannot, keep pace with wheat; yet sound corn must continue to be freely shipped.

THE MODERN CHIVALRY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.—For the last twenty or thirty years we have heard a great deal of the chivalry of South Carolina. Certainly, during the life of that great statesman John C. Calhoun, the public men and the politicians of South Carolina were always high minded, noble and disinterested, whatever errors of judgment their feelings led them to commit. Their high morality and their intellectual character commanded the respect of all; while at the same time, the South Carolinian in private intercourse was a finished gentleman, if there were any in the country. Some marked change must have taken place in this State.

We see, for instance, that every public journal in the State, with the exception of two, sustains the administration of General Pierce. If the spirit of John C. Calhoun could be invoked by some of the spiritual media, what would the pure and exalted shade of that great man say to such a spectacle as South Carolina supporting the reprobate, degraded administration of Pierce! Political chivalry must at all events have winged its flight from that ancient and honored State. Where has it gone? If we were bound to specify a place, we should point out the furthest corner of the State of Michigan and the heart of the democratic party there, where the democracy had recently the manliness, by public resolution, to "thank God that the administration of Franklin Pierce was drawing to a close."

THE LATEST NEWS.
BY MAGNETIC AND PRINTING TELEGRAPHS.
Accident to the Steamer Robert L. Stevens.
SANDY HOOK, MAY 25—9 P. M.
The steamer Robert L. Stevens, while on an excursion to the Fishing Bank to-day, was run into by a schooner of Long Branch, about 5 P. M. The steamer is now drifting with the tide, her machinery being badly damaged. She has nearly 200 passengers on board. At dark she was about three miles off Long Branch, with signals of distress flying at her mast. The steam tug have been notified, and will probably go to her assistance.

Interesting from Washington.
THE FRENCH MINISTER'S EFFORTS IN THE CLAYTON CASE.—PACIFIC REFORMATION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—EFFECT OF THE REPORT OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION.—THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.—THE APPROACHING CONVENTIONS.—GOSSIP AMONG THE POLITICIANS, ETC., ETC., ETC.
WASHINGTON, MAY 26, 1856.
The rather abrupt termination of Mr. Sartiges' (the French Minister) interviews with the Secretary of State in behalf of Mr. Clayton, it would seem, was owing to other causes than those attributed by a portion of the press. From Saturday last this gentleman had been using his influence, as ambassador of France, with Mr. Marcy, to get his admission of the sufficiency of Lord Clarendon's apology for his errors and those of Mr. Clayton in the Clarendon case. In his last interview the Minister represented that the continuance of peaceful relations between England and the United States was the earnest wish of his master, the Emperor, who, since his accession to the throne of France, had personally, and through his representatives, erred on every possible occasion a friendship to the Union. Mr. Marcy is said to have expressed satisfaction at the assurance given, and remarked that it did not correspond with other official statements which the United States had received from parties of reputable standing in their own country. The Minister promptly interposed, and denied in the firmest manner the truth of any report adverse to the one which he had just made. The scene at this moment, according to representation, must have been one of interest; for Mr. Marcy, rising from his seat, extended his absence for a moment, when he returned from an adjoining room with an original dispatch in his hand addressed to the Secretary of War, Mr. Davis, which he opened, and, by permission of Mr. Sartiges, commenced reading extracts therefrom. "Now," said Mr. Marcy, closing the document, "what I have just read to you is from a report of an army commission which was sent out by this government for the bene-

fit of science; and am I to understand from the free assurance that you have given, that His Majesty, the Emperor, was ignorant of the language used by his War Secretary to the officers of this mission, to whom he not only (and) extended the courtesies solicited, but added to the refusal an expression implying 'that when they next met it might be at the cannon's mouth'?" Mr. Marcy continued: "This language is further corroborated by a despatch to this department from our Minister at Paris. But," said Mr. Marcy, "your assurance of friendship at this time will no doubt be most acceptable to the President, to whom I shall communicate the facts you have just made known to me."

Mr. Sartiges took his departure from the close of Mr. Marcy's last sentence, and has not since presented himself as the advocate of Lord Clarendon or Mr. Clayton. This, in all probability, was the only time and place when the insulting language of the French War Minister, Marshal Vaillant, to our officers, could have received notice, as the official position of the parties to whom it was pronounced would not have justified the United States in noticing it by communication direct to the French government. Although I have full confidence in the correctness of what I have here stated, yet it is due to Mr. Sartiges to say, that he declares the report exaggerated. One thing, however, is certain, that it was the introduction of this insulting language which had induced the hasty flight from the State Department of the French Minister.

Washington is likely to be a dull place for the next two or three weeks. Cincinnati draws off the first installment, although the abolitionists hold their "National" Convention in Syracuse on Wednesday next—also days before the democrats meet in Cincinnati. Members of Congress and others are already leaving for Ohio. It is thought that there will hardly be a quorum left in Congress by Wednesday.

The news from Kansas has produced a sensation, but the Presidential nominations will not be affected, and Kansas affairs will enter largely into the campaign, the siege of Lawrence can be talked over in Cincinnati as well as in Washington.

The capital is of course full of political gossip. It is interesting, and true for the time, but the result in convention will upset many well laid plans.

Very extensive arrangements are made in Cincinnati for the reception of delegates. Splendid suites of rooms are engaged for "headquarters" of the different sections, and large sums of money will be spent in champagne dinners. The plan of the "Dover Club" dinners at the New York Hotel will be carried out, but on a more extensive and magnificent scale. Of course the sold of operations is largely in the hands of the speculators.

The Buchanan forces will be on hand; but several of the leaders, such as Governor Wise, of Virginia, and Mayor Wood, of New York, will not be in Cincinnati. Forney will be the master spirit there. Messrs. Schicks and Sanders, of New York, will also be there.

The Pierce inside and outside delegates pretend to great strength. They will, however, humbug him. Some are for Douglas, some for Hunter and some for Buchanan. As they are generally office holders, they go for the strongest men. As they are apparently for Pierce,